

DD/P 0-934

ER 60-804/a

STAT

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Mr. Gordon H. Evans

Dear Mr. Evans:

Mr. Dulles asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of January 31, 1960, which has been referred to appropriate officers of this Agency for consideration.

As you are undoubtedly aware, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels and the International Cooperative Alliance, London, are concerned with a number of aspects of the problems mentioned in your letter. I suggest you might find it useful to pursue your suggestions with these two organizations directly.

STAT  
Executive Officer

Signature Recommended:

STAT  
17 Feb 1960  
Acting Deputy Director (Plans)

STAT  
IC/ :kl (16 Feb. 1960)  
Revised and Retyped for Signature O/DCI/MTF (18 Feb. 1960)

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Chief, International Organizations Division

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Executive Officer

Signature Recommended:

[Signature] 17 Feb 1960  
Acting Deputy Director (Plans)

IO [Signature]:kl (16 Feb. 1960)  
Rewritten and Retyped for Signature O/DCI/MTF (18 Feb. 1960)

[Signature]  
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**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

**OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR**



60-804/a

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**ALLEN W. DULLES**  
Director

Signature Recommended:

[Redacted Signature]

Acting Deputy Director (Plans)

IO/1 [Redacted] 6 Feb. 1960

[Redacted]

Chief, International Organizations Division

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60-809



## INTERNATIONAL PEASANT UNION

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YUGOSLAV-SERBIAN  
AGRARIAN UNION  
DR. MILAN GAVRILOVIC

January 31, 1960

Mr. Allen W. Dulles  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Dulles:

May I take the liberty of inviting your comment on the enclosed idea-proposal. Perhaps it is not new to you.

Dr. Mosely at the Council is not enthusiastic; he feels that it does not address itself to the main thing, which is improvement of the standards of living of the world's rural populations. I usually respect his opinion, but in this case he has not convinced me. Certainly economics is the basic thing, but politics and ideology are also important, and often decisive.

I cannot say that the idea in this memo is original with me, but I do apologize for the rough condition of the text.

Very truly yours,  
*Gordon Heyd Evans*  
Gordon Heyd Evans

MEMORANDUM

In the under-developed, low-income countries the plight of the small agricultural holder -- or would-be small-holder -- is in most places grievous. Where landlordism still exists, the tenant or unattached agricultural laborer is intent on acquiring his own plot. Where he owns a scrap of land, the problems of over-population, low crop yields and weak prices are too often present. Whether called by the name or not, a heavy majority of the world's people are peasants, and especially in the backward areas, where demographic patterns change slowly, their preponderance will subsist for a considerable time to come.

And the international peasantry -- white, black or yellow -- is everywhere discontented with its lot. In many places its frustration has made it a revolutionary force; and upon its malaise the Communists have worked with such great success in the past, that they doubtless pin high hopes for the coming decades on the impoverished peasant masses. The Communist victory in China was in large part the consequence of peasant land-hunger, and Moscow or Peking will probably continue trying to repeat this particular pattern of agrarian revolution wherever socio-economic conditions are basically similar, i.e. in many parts of Latin America. However, the connection between Marxism-Leninism and the landless agricultural laborer or poverty stricken small-holder is not a necessary one, and in fact has been proved by experience to be fundamentally contradictory. The peasant and Communism have repeatedly come to loggerheads over two critical issues: collectivization of land and the primacy of industrialization. In both issues Communism (though its propaganda tries always to becloud the fact)

does not really aim at fulfilling the desires or interests of the agricultural populations. It is a curious fact that the West has never seriously attempted to exploit these contradictions for its own benefit.

Within the national movements which have sprung up throughout the ex-colonial world a degree of political differentiation is already apparent. In a typical backward nation the regime is dominated by the military or the landlords, sometimes with the participation of a nascent mercantile-industrial interest. But there are also universally<sup>present</sup>/political figures who represent, or probably will come to represent, the rural masses in particular. The incipient peasant movements are inarticulate, and generally not yet even self-conscious. But in the years ahead, as the memory of Western imperialism fades, a marked trend away from simple nationalism, and towards an evolution of domestic politics along class-interest lines may be expected to appear. The tendency may well be reinforced by raising population pressures and the possible failure of some ambitious industrialization programs. The opportunities for Marxism-Leninism in these troubled waters are certainly obvious. Growing popular discontent, combined with immature, confused and often ignorant leadership offers good prospects for the Communists; and it would behoove the West, particularly the United States, to take what long-term measures are available to counter the probability of increasing Sino-Soviet pressure in the under-developed areas.

We may expect that the peasant movements in Asia, Latin America and even in parts of Africa will begin to come of age coincidentally with the developments suggested above. Almost every-



where the rural masses are the majority, and the majority organized usually wins power in the end. It would seem important that the rural political movements take a correct direction at the start if they are not to run the risk of capture in whole or in part of Communist agitators.

Yet little or no beginning has been made towards guiding the actual or potential peasant leadership in democratic directions-- away from Communism, and towards agrarianism per se. There exists no international organization comparable to the Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which was admirably designed to forestall penetration of the international labor movement. However a similar organization could, through its various functions, probably stiffen the resistance of the rural masses to Communist influences. Not the least of its functions should be the framing and propagating of a common agrarian ideology opposed to Marxism-Leninism. If intelligently handled, such a program can increase the influence of the West with the "powers to be" by raising the level of political and economic sophistication among the rural leadership.

A precedent for the program exists in the Green International of East-Central Europe during the 1930's.